# MEN WHO HAVE REFUSED PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY

SOME of Mr. Cleveland's friends refuse to believe that his declination of the presidential candidacy is final. The declination was not expected by them at all, and those who did expect it did not look for it to come quite so early as this—half a year before the national convention will meet. The ex-president had been gradually gaining strength in his party for the past few months. Two or three New York Democratic papers eight or ten months ago began to suggest his name in connection with the candidacy for 1904, but not until after the World's fair dedication ceremonies at St. Louis on April 30, 1903, was the suggestion taken seriously by anybody. It was noticed, however, that at the dedication he attracted far more attention than did any other person who was present except President Roosevelt. Next to Roosevelt's, his address was the feature of the exercises. It was printed in full in most of the great dailies of the country and was commented upon by many of them, generally favorably. The enthusiasm which he excited at St. Louis and the general interest which his movements just before and just after the dedication excited gave his advocates encouragement to continue the propaganda, and they had been slowly but persistently gaining adherents along to the time that he sent his note to one of his early advocates declining to be considered in the light of a presidential aspirant.

Is Mr. Cleveland's declination final? On the face of things it looks to be so, for the ex-president is apt to mean what he says. One or two circumstances, however, connected with his career may give some of them a little hope that he may be induced ultimately to accept the candidacy should it be proffered. In his letter accepting the nomination of 1884 he urged the adoption of an amendment to the constitution disqualifying a president for re-election. As the same thing had often been proposed before by prominent statesmen, Mr. Cleveland's suggestion did not attract any atention at the time. Larger things than the restriction of a president to a single term were before the country in the campaign of 1884. Possibly some of his unsuccessful rivals in the convention of that year—Hendricks, Thurman, Bayard, McDonald or some of the others—may have been encouraged by Cleveland's expressed objections to second terms for any presidents, but the masses of the Democratic and Republican voters in the canvass took no notice of that point in any way. Shortly before the convention of 1888 in St. Louis met a few Democratic and one or two Republican newspapers called attention to the one-term views announced by Cleveland in 1884, but they had not the slightest effect on the president and his friends, for the convention gave him a unanimous renomination, but he was defeated at the polls. In 1891 and also early in 1892 he said things in interviews and private letters which were construed at the time as intimations that he would not be a candidate again, but he accepted the third candidacy in that year when the convention offered it, and there was no surprise expressed at the time.

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**Blaine's Florence Letter.**

Most persons remember the surprise caused by Blaine's Florence letter five or six months before the Republican national convention of 1888, withdrawing from the race for the nomination. Shortly before that time, in an interview in Paris, Mr. Blaine condemned President Cleveland's message of December, 1887, in which the president broke away from the custom of all his predecessors and confined himself to one theme—the tariff—urging reductions in many particulars. Blaine attacked the message, and his words were considered so important in that exigency that they were published in many of the prominent European papers as well as in all of those of the United States. Cleveland's message of 1887 was far shorter than those of most of his predecessors and of all of his successors. It was shorter than his own regular communications to congress before and afterward. On this account, however, and because it made an assault on the tariff, which was certain to figure in the canvass in the following year, in which he would be a candidate, it attracted wide attention. No other regular message to congress since the civil war days had anything like the number of readers which Cleveland's pronunciamento of 1887 won. The message, too, it may be said, was unfortunate for its author. Its recommendations were given shape in the Mills tariff of 1888, which passed the house by a party vote, which was held up in the senate, and which did more than any other influence to defeat Cleveland in that year and put Benjamin Harrison in office.

Blaine's Paris manifesto brought its author into new prominence all over the world. There was no doubt felt among either Democrats or Republicans that he would be the candidate in 1888. The "old ticket," it was believed, would be put up by both parties, and the canvass of 1884 would be fought over again, with the chances this time, it was believed, in favor of the Republicans. Then when the Florence letter arrived, in which Blaine announced, on "account of reasons personal to myself," that his name would not be presented to the convention, something like consternation was caused among a large element of the Republicans. There was not the faintest doubt that Blaine was the favorite of a great majority of the Republican voters. He made many friends, too, among the Democrats. Personally, he was one of the most attractive personages whom the country has seen. His withdrawal from the canvass, therefore, disorganized Republican plans, and gave immediate encouragement to many other aspirants. Thus when the convention of 1888 opened there was the profoundest sort of doubt as to the person who would carry off the prize. Sherman led in the voting, but as he had been an aspirant then for many years, and as his name had figured in several conventions, his friends lacked confidence in his winning powers.

**Those in Convention.**

Following him, in this order, on the first ballot in the convention were Gresham, Depew, Alger, Harrison, Allison, Blaine, Ingalls, Rusk and others. Notwithstanding Blaine's withdrawal, many of his friends continued to support him through the entire convention, which lasted six days, longer than any other national gathering of the Republican party, before or since. Harrison at last won the candidacy, but there were Republicans in and out of the convention who believed that if that body had gone to Blaine he would be constrained to accept the honor. Attempts several times were made to stampede the convention to him, but these all failed. Harrison made Blaine secretary of state, and, though it was understood that Blaine would not be an aspirant for the nomination in 1892 against his chief, and as he himself had let it be known that he would not seek the candidacy again, yet he resigned from the cabinet just before the convention of that year, he put himself in the hands of his friends, and he received 182 votes in the convention, the candidacy, of course, going to Harrison as a compliment to his presidency, and also as an indication that the Republican party was ready to stand by him.

It will be remembered that President Grant wrote in 1875 to the chairman of the Pennsylvania Republican state convention something about the third term, which attracted great attention at the time. Grant said in that letter ha he had not sought a first term or a second term and that he would not accept a nomination for a third term unless it should "come under such circumstances as to make it an imperative duty—circumstances not likely to arise." This language was held by Grant's Republican opponents as binding him not to take a third-term nomination, or at any rate to compel him to constrain his friends not to attempt to get such a nomination for him. Probably Grant did not desire another candidacy. It is altogether probable that he let this fact be known to Conkling, Logan, Cameron, Forney and the others who were pressing him for another nomination. When the convention of 1880 met, nevertheless, everybody knew that the contest would be between Grant and Blaine. Nobody, Republican or Democrat, in the United States was surprised when Grant was seen to lead the convention for many ballots, despite the anti-third-term sentiment. In that convention Blaine not only represented that two-term unwritten law, but he stood for his own personal prestige as a leader which was greater than that of any other member of his party of that day except Grant alone. By a concentration of almost all of the anti-third termers on Garfield, the latter, who had not been an aspirant at all, but was the leader of Sherman's forces, was nominated. Nobody doubted, however, that if Grant had received the nomination in 1880, even after a hard contest, he would have accepted it and made the canvass.

**Hayes Disclaims.**

Hayes let it be known soon after he entered the presidency in 1877 that he would not be an aspirant for a re-election. Tilden, Hayes' unsuccessful competitor in 1876, also disclaimed any desire for another nomination. He let that be known formally to his friends shortly before the convention of 1880 met. This was published in all the papers of the country at the time. There were Democrats, however, who wanted to make an issue of the "crime of 1876," as they called the decision of the electoral commission, which, in the disputed counted seated Hayes. These advocates of the "old ticket" were powerful in the party for a time, but the loss of the election of 1876 hit Tilden's prestige and the military record of General Hancock did the rest. In the voting in the convention of 1880 Hancock led off on the first ballot and was nominated on the second. After the shifting of the different delegations to the winning side had taken place. Some of the delegates, however, voted for Tilden to the end, and it was said at the time that the sage of Kinderhook expected the nomination and that he was angry because all except three dozen of the delegates had taken him at his word and voted for somebody else.

Shortly before the conventions of 1868 it was known that Chase, then chief justice, would accept the Democratic nomination in that year if it were tendered him. Chase had belonged to almost every party, in succession, which had appeared in his day. He had been a Democrat, a Liberty party man, a Whig, a Free Soiler and a Republican. As a Republican he had been elected governor of Ohio and senator from that state, and as a Republican he had been an active aspirant for the nomination in the convention of 1860, which gave Lincoln the candidacy. He served in Lincoln's cabinet, and while there he aspired to the candidacy of 1864, knowing that his chief wanted the renomination, but he stepped out of the race long before the convention met, and retired from the cabinet soon afterward. When on the supreme bench, to which he was appointed by Lincoln, he gradually diverged from the Republicans on some of the issues connected with the reconstruction policy, leaned toward Johnson's side in the impeachment proceedings and announced himself a Democrat a few months before the convention of 1868 met. He drew up a platform of principles to which he subscribed, declared that he did not think he would be available as a Democratic candidate, but nevertheless was ready to accept the nomination if two-thirds of the convention offered it to him. Vallandigham, who had opposed Chase's greenback ideas when promulgated first, in 1862, and who was against the entire policy of the administration of those days in which Chase had been a part, was an ardent Chase man in the convention in Tammany hall, which put up the Democratic ticket of 1868, but the sentiment in favor of the chief justice, if there any such, never manifested itself in the convention.

**Nominee of 1868.**

The man who became the nominee of the Democratic convention of 1868, Horatio, Seymour, had not been prominently mentioned outside of his own state in connection with the candidacy of that year previous to the meeting of the convention. He had been conspicuous in New York politics for many years, had been a member of the legislature, was governor of the state during part of the civil war, and presided over the convention which nominated McClellan for president in 1864, as well as over that of 1868 in which he himself received the candidacy. In the 1868 convention, however, by far the most promising aspirant at the start was George H. Pendleton. As a member of congress during the civil war he opposed the issue of greenbacks, but after the war he wanted not only the $450,000,000 of that period retained but he urged the increase of the volume and the payment of all the government obligations in them which had not been made specifically in gold. Largely because of Pendleton's prominence in this "more greenbacks" propaganda the policy was dubbed the "Ohio idea." Pendleton was opposed, of course, by a large element of the eastern Democrats, among whom were Seymour, who had been a robust gold specie payment man during the war days. Nevertheless, Pendleton led for many ballots, and though he failed of the nomination, some of his ideas got into the platform. In the deadlock between Pendleton and his principal rivals a movement for Seymour was started, which he attempted to check by declaring that "your candidate I can never be," yet while protesting that he never could consent he consented.

Like Hayes of the later day, Polk let it be known long before the time for the selection of a candidate of 1848 arrived that he would not seek reelection, and the convention took him at his word and nominated Cass, who was beaten at the polls by Taylor, the Whig. The probability is that Polk, if he had been an aspirant, would have been beaten either in the convention or at the polls, for despite the successful war against Mexico which was prosecuted during his administration, and which added vast tracts to the nation's territory, he was not popular with his party or the country. Some of Jackson's political enemies declared during his second term that he would take another term if he could get it, and would remain in office for life if the country would allow him. It is known, however, that Jackson seriously intended at one time to resign in his second term so that his friend Van Buren, the vice president, would be sure of serving in the higher office a short time at least, and that he was persuaded by Van Buren and other supporters to retain office to the end. Jefferson, like Cleveland, believed that the re-eligibility of presidents for election was a defect in the constitution, which he would be glad to see mended, yet he cheerfully accepted a second term himself, and some of his enemies charged that he was willing to stay in office still longer, but this, of course, is known to be an error. He was sincere in saying that the day when he retired to his home in 1809 at the end of his second term was the happiest day of his life. Still there are persons who are not yet convinced that Mr. Cleveland's declination will be allowed to stand—Houston Post.

## Man Reckons Time When Asleep

(Chicago Tribune.)

That a man may have a better idea of the time of night when he awakens from a good sleep than he would have of the time of day, provided he was working unusually hard with unusual intentness of purpose, is one of the odd facts connected with the operation of the human brain.

But, on the other hand, if a man may work with such intensity of purpose as to forget the lapse of two or three hours of daylight, so he may sleep with a soundness that prevents the little timekeeper of the brain from making subconscious note of the hour hand of the clock in the night. As between the two conditions, however, it is the opinion of Dr. O. A. Kilg, professor of nervous discases in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, that the awakened sleeper usually has a better idea of the flight of the night than the other may have of the flight of the day.

"Under ordinary circumstances the person who is in normal sleep is not asleep," said the doctor. "That one nook in the brain which takes cognizance of time is alert to an extent not appreciated by the layman. Awakening at any time in the night, the person in good health and condition knows pretty closely whether it is midnight or after, or whether it be nearer 2 o'clock in the morning than it is to 4 o'clock. Many persons have the faculty so cultivated that they know within the quarter hours of the exact time.

"On the other hand, it is a common expression with persons in all lines of work suddenly to look at the clock and express the keenest surprise that it is so late in the afternoon or evening, and occasionally one who has been working to poor advantage and under difficulties will be surprised on looking at his watch that it is so early.

"That the brain in sleep keeps this tally upon the time is proved by the influences of anaesthetics. A person who has been profoundly under the influence of any drug used for the purpose will be as utterly unconscious of the passing of ten minuts as he will be unconscious of the passing of an hour. He may be forgetful of all conditions leading up to the state of anaesthesia and for the time being he may have forgotten the day of the week.

"As to the time measurement in sleep, it is best represented in the person used to travel and to the catching of trains in the night. Many of these persons will be able to awaken at an hour giving them just the margin needed for preparation for the train.

"One of the peculiarities of a person's waking for a train, or for any such emergency, is that the awakening always is sudden. There is none of the preliminary yawning and stretching, and slowly returning sense of luxurious rest and comfort felt by the man who has slept a full sleep. In this awakening to a certain time the person frequently feels that impression of a sudden sound which he knows cannot have been made or uttered. Not infrequently he has the sense that someone has called his name. He may be almost certain that he has heard his first name—'George?'—called with the characteristic rising inflection. In almost any case his awakening is without any premonitory symptoms. It is with a sort of jolt that he comes into full-fledged consciousness. In such cases as those where the sleep is profound beyond any consciousness of the time, the dream period of sleep is left far behind; the sleep has approached the depth of anaesthesia."

One of the oddities of sleep was referred to, in which a person may lie down for rest without intending to sleep. It may be morning or afternoon, but the fatigue that prompts the person to lie down overcomes him, and, after a sound sleep, he awakens without any knowledge of time in any sense. He does not realize whether it is morning or afternoon, whether he has had luncheon or whether he may not have slept through a day and a night and awakened into another day. It is the opinion of Dr. King that in such a case the person experiencing the sensations probably is not in a normal state of health.

As an example of sleep that should be natural and close to the design of nature and of an awakening that should be normal without the effect of an artificial civilization crowding it, the babe which has rested to the full and begins to arouse itself from slumber is an interesting study.

With its little face on the pillow, unmarked of a line, and its breath coming with a silent regularity, its hands listless and still at its sides—the onlooker is assured of the absolute repose that is upon the child. As the hour for awakening approaches there may be just a little tremor shaking the whole body of the sleeper, and perhaps just the trace of a sign following it. Then an eyelid will flutter for the width of a hair and the lips will close tightly.

Sleep is preparing for flight. The eyelids close tightly and a frown comes over the baby face like a shadow over a field of June clover. The other arm is drawn up and the little hand seeks the baby face and the knuckles are bored into a closed eye; there are more stretchings, more frowns, a throwing of the hands and feet right and left, another sigh—and then with an almost convulsive movement the eyelids pop open and wide and blue—or black or gray or brown—the pupils dilate and turn and roll toward walls and ceilings.

Baby is awake.